

/6 cont./

	<u>Ajkol-culibal</u>	<u>Alán-culibal</u>
551		
621	19 Chik	14 Chik
614	13 Chejeb	18 Chejeb
	22 Ijká	6 Ijká

/7/ Among the Spanish surnames we have 6 that belong exclusively to Alán- and 6 to Ajkol-culibal (not counting the case in which a native surname of the Chik clan is joined to two different Spanish surnames that are found in both culibales). The remaining 14 Spanish surnames are combined with surnames from the two culibales.

621 Today the culibal is not endogamous, but we believe it
582 possible that it was in former times (as we have found in recent
178 investigations of the Tzotzil group of San Pablo Chalhchihuitán of
174 this region). The present possibility of changing residence and
551 the incorporation of native surnames originating from a culibal
(or perhaps two) that have disappeared within the boundaries of
the two remaining make the reconstruction of the pre-Hispanic
621 culibal impossible in this case. According to the data obtained
582 in our census, 62.5 o/o of the marriages were concluded between
551 persons whose native surnames originated from the same culibal.
[125] In spite of the low percentage, nevertheless the custom of mar-
[166] riage between people of the same culibal predominates (we should
[613] not forget the mobility permitted in recent times, because of which
residents of one culibal are persons whose lineages originate from
the other), although cases of marriage between persons belonging
[614] to the two different culibales also abound. It is almost always
preferred to look for a wife among the women of the same place
or rancheria, but at present we can say that clan exogamy is the
only thing that regulates marriage.

621 Each culibal has its own chiefs, elected from and by those
622 members who have filled political-religious positions in the
• [631] Chakel or Ayuntamiento /municipal government/. The clans are
[614] taken into account in this election, rigorously taking turns. The
[651] culibal chiefs assign the communal lands, organize the collective
tasks for the benefit of the community, pray for the health and

563 Citalá, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo relations between Indians and Ladinos are more friendly, and the Indians are regarded as milder and more tractable.

181 Of the strongly Indian towns, Cancuc is the most conservative, Chanal the most progressive.

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563 In respect to official political organization, these villages are divided according to their importance and the number of their inhabitants, into free municipalities (*municipios libres*) and dependent municipalities (*agencias municipales*). The former are those which have the right to choose their own government, upon which formal administration depends. To this category belong Amatenango, Chanal, Tenejapa, Oxchuc, Ococingo, Chilón, and Bachajón. Until a short time ago the municipal governments of these settlements were composed of Ladinos in the principal posts and of Indians in the subordinate positions. At the present time the government is seeking to reverse this situation so that the Indians have the greater authority; it is for this reason that the governments of the four villages first mentioned are now headed by Indians. This change has brought about marked alterations in certain places in the social equilibrium that before existed between the two ethnic elements which compose the population.

[177] Villages of the latter category are those which depend, in administrative matters, on a free municipality. In these cases authority is represented in the first place by the *agente municipal*, who is named by the central municipal government. This post is always discharged by a Ladino. In most instances the municipal agent compensates for the meagerness of his salary by controlling the sale of rum in the village which he administers. The other members of the municipal government are chosen almost always from the Indian group.

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439 In several of the highland communities, notably Amatenango, Chanal, and, to a much less extent, Tenejapa, the Indian grows (in addition to the universal maize) a certain amount of wheat for export; the Ladinos of Oxchuc cultivate this crop, but in Cancuc, where there are no Ladinos, wheat is not grown. (Wheat is also grown in the Tzotzil towns of Chamula and Huistán.) Other money crops of the highlands are chickpeas, peas, oranges, and other fruit. Some coffee is grown in San Martín; it is the principal export from Yajalón and Petalcingo. In Bachajón, Citalá, Guaquitepec, and Chilón a principal produce is brown sugar, made locally from sugar cane locally raised. Cancuc is the only village that cultivates cotton commercially; the production in the other communities is insignificant. The local manufacture of loom-woven clothing is rapidly disappearing. Most Tzeltal communities are without beehives, but there is considerable apiculture in Sivacá, and a little beekeeping is also practised in Tenango, Bachajón, and Yajalón. Apparently the bees kept are wild colonies brought to the villages in the sections of hollow log they are made to inhabit. The raising of hogs and poultry is a principal economic recourse in all the Indian settlements. The beef cattle industry has always been in the hands of Ladinos; however, recently the Government, acting through the

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[654] Centers of Native Education, has sought to stimulate the industry among the Indians.

9. The Tzeltal

ALFONSO VILLA ROJAS

133 flows through the eastern part of the region, the latter through the western, both draining large basins.

161 According to the census of 1950, the population of the zone totals 76,617 individuals, 162 distributed over 15,970 sq. km. Of these 49,053 persons are Indian, 27,564 are Ladino. This population is distributed according to Table 1.

[128] San Cristobal de las Casas is omitted from the table because its population is predominantly Ladino (19,758 individuals) and because the Indians who live there (3,296) are of the Tzotzil tongue. Socoltenango and Nicolas Ruiz are also omitted because they no longer have an Indian-speaking population.

161 The central region has the municipalities 631 of the highest density of population: Oxchuc with 129 inhabitants per sq. km., and Tenejapa with 115. The northern part has an

[134] area seven times as large with only twice as much population; the municipality of Oxcoyingo has hardly one inhabitant per sq. km. in spite of the fact that its lands are the most fertile of the entire region. Although it

[p. 195-B]
[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 196-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

TABLE 1—DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BY MUNICIPALITIES
(Census of 1950)

Municipalities	Area in sq. km.	Tzeltal-speakers	Spanish-speakers	Total Population
<i>North Zone:</i>				
Sitala	550	5,435	1,385	6,821
Yajalon	145	6,026	4,010	10,036
Chilon	462	9,049	2,070	11,118
Ocosingo	12,143	9,170	3,770	12,940
Subtotal	13,300	29,680	11,235	40,915
<i>Central Zone:</i>				
Chanal	192	2,328	553	2,881
Oxchuc	42	4,074	1,338	5,412
Tenejapa	67	6,215	1,535	7,750
Altamirano	1,559	2,945	1,810	4,655
Subtotal	1,860	15,462	5,236	20,698
<i>South Zone:</i>				
Teopisca	270	754	4,601	5,355
Amatenango	355	1,773	756	2,529
Pinola	185	1,384	5,736	7,120
Subtotal	810	3,911	11,093	15,004
GRAND TOTAL	15,970	49,053	27,564	76,617

TABLE 2—SPEAKERS OF TZELTAL
(Distribution by Zones)

Zones	Monolingual	Bilingual	Total
North Zone	23,429	8,251	31,680
Central Zone	11,291	4,171	15,462
South Zone	323	3,588	3,911
TOTAL	35,043	16,010	51,053

[P. 196-A]

Although it

161 has an average of 19 inhabitants per sq. km.,
[241] the southern zone has lands that are suitable
• [63] for agriculture and for irrigation, such as in
[128] Amatenango. Later I shall discuss the influence of these factors on the uneven economic and social development of the three zones.

161 The figures on Indians are based exclusively on use of the Indian language and
162 so include both monolinguals and bilinguals. To differentiate each group, however,
197 I have made corrections based on field work
191 as shown in Table 2.

141 The average height of these Indians ranges from 1.55 to 1.60 m. Referring to

[P. 196-B]

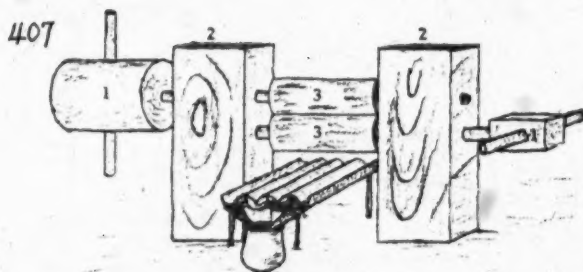


FIG. 6—SUGARCANE PRESS.
1, Kabal-té. 2, Smete-al. 3, S-kab.

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their godchild nor protect him if he becomes orphaned, but this is only because closer members of the same lineage take care of him. But the padrinos must attend the wake (*kanka-almail*) and the burial when the godchild dies, as is expected from the godchild when the godparents die. In these communities, *compadrazgo* constitutes both an important religious obligation and a means of establishing friendship and cooperation between families.

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

- 621 The political and religious pattern is the
- 631 same throughout all the Tzeltal communi-
- [184] ties, governed by two groups of authorities whose activities are interrelated. The first group, formed by members of the *cabildo* and *ayuntamiento*, manages political affairs of the community. The *ayuntamiento* maintains relationship between the local government and the national authorities. The
- 631 presidente municipal and the intermediate authorities are popularly elected and then confirmed by the congress of the state.
- [563] These authorities must represent both ethnic groups (Indians and Ladinos) to warrant the claim that "justice is equal for everybody." In 1936 the state government ruled that in all *municipios* where the indigenous population predominates, the presidente municipal should be an Indian.

Next in authority after the presidente is
[P. 219-B]

- 63| the secretario, who is, without exception, a Ladino, for his responsibilities require a good knowledge of the Spanish language as well as office skills, which the Indians usually lack. Actually it is this official who controls all the administrative affairs of the municipio. He imposes fines, collects taxes, assigns communal work, and keeps in contact with the state authorities. After him rank the regidor, sindaco, alcalde, police commander, and policemen.

- 62| Besides these authorities, which are the officially recognized ones, the Indians have their own government system, which in most places is still operating. Oxchuc is [888] typical of the regional pattern. There the [887] municipio is divided into two calpules, each of which is a kind of fraternity under the supervision of those old men having the [776] greatest knowledge and prestige. Each cal- [796] pul has also its own patron saint, venerated with special feasts and ceremonies throughout the year. (In Oxchuc the calpules are not geographically determined, and its members are spread in different parajes of the territory.) Authority is now integrated in the following officials:

- 1 katinab, supreme chief of the whole calpul
- 1 okil kabil, "feet and hands" of the preceding, i.e., secretary
- 2 dzunubiles, supreme "pulser" or "curers"
- 1 alcalde, who carries a staff of office
- 2 corrales (or governors), who also carry staffs of office
- 2 síndicos, who also carry staffs of office
- 4 x-tules (or regidores)

- 555 The four last jobs are reached by strict
624 hierarchy and indicate the progress of each
794 individual in the fulfillment of his social duties. This social-service career begins when the man is not yet married, when he is assigned the cargo of mayordomo of the church, which means that he has to attend to minor affairs connected with the church and to keep it clean. Shortly after his marriage he usually reaches the position of capitán, where he is responsible for the fies-
[P. 220-A]

7: Nash

NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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/For information on the "cacique", a role created by outside interests and occupied by someone marginal to the community -- a foreign Indian or Ladino -- see category 622./

Ordering Behavior by Places

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as lawyers. The defendant is sometimes accompanied by supporters who feel that he has a case. The failure of parents to accompany a defendant, regardless of his age, is attributed to their shame over their child's misbehavior and their own failure to train him properly. The judge does not limit himself to passing judgment but also counsels the defendant as to how he should behave. [693] [695] [593]

The town hall is usually shut and locked at noon unless some business requires more time. In the evening about six, the officials return to take their same posts. They sit with their arms drawn inside their woolen jackets for warmth. After a half an hour they drift home. People rely on the presence of officials rather than particular actions to maintain social control, and it is their appearance at regular hours that assures the villagers that the town is being well run. [621] [344] [56] [626]

Local autonomy depends primarily on retaining social control functions. Civil officials try to settle disputes locally and avoid the entry of Ladino officials from the departmental capital, although the judges and president will threaten the defendant with taking the case to the department if they cannot get compliance. The number of cases referred to the capital has been increasing since 1950 as Table 32 shows. In 1951 the federal government began to fine local officials who failed to report homicide cases and accidental death. The local officials complied, but departmental courts were unable to bring action in over half the cases. No action was taken in 72 cases, or 54 percent, in comparison with 62 cases, or 46 percent, in which action was taken. Domestic cases, except for one of adultery, are adequately handled in local courts and do not appear in the departmental records. The trend shows an increasing number of cases of crimes against persons in comparison to crimes against property, an index to the breakdown in social control processes. [621] [692] [631] [674] [182]

THE CHURCH

The church has been built and on two occasions rebuilt—when the tower was struck by lightning—with funds collected locally from household heads. Damage to the church was attributed to the patron saint of the neighboring town of Oxchuk who, the people say, was fighting with their patroness, Santa Lucía. The townspeople feel that they own the [346] [794] [821] [796]

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 301)

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TABLE 32. Cases Brought to Departmental Court

	Homicide	Rape	Robbery	Complaint Property damage	Assault	Adultery	Liquor distilling	Accident	Misc.	Action			Total
										yes	no	unre- solved	
1950													
1951	2	1	1							3	1		4
1952	4	1		1						3	3		6
1953	1		1	1	4	1				6	2		8
1954	3		3	1	1		2			6	3	1	10
1955	2		3		2				5	8	1	3	12
1956	3		3	1	2					7	1	1	9
1957	5				3				2	4	3	3	10
1958	4		3		3				2	5	4	3	12
1959	1				4		1	1	1	2	2	4	8
1960	2	2			2		1	2	1	5	2	3	10
1961	4				1			2		1	2	4	7
1962	5				2				1	5	1	2	8
1963	6				3					3	1	5	9
1964	5			1	4					4	2	4	10
1965	9								2	2	2	9	11
TOTAL	56	4	14	5	31	1	4	5	14	62	30	42	134

[P.300]

175 under the administrative jurisdiction of the Provincia de los
648 Llanos.¹ They were, and still are, part of the same Curato of
[993] the local Catholic Church, which was under secular clergy, as op-
posed to most villages in the area which were under Dominican
jurisdiction. Up until 1854 they were subjected to the same
changes with respect to the administrative districts of the State
of Chiapas (districts which were rearranged practically every time
there was a change of government). In 1854, however, the local
175 districts were reorganized into Municipalidades (the closest
621 English equivalent being a county); Amatenango became attached to
648 Teopisca, the nearest Ladino-Indian town, as a part of the ninth
631 Municipio, while Aguacatenango became dependent upon the fourth
Municipio of Comitán, together with the towns of San Bartolomé
(also a mixed Ladino-Indian town), Totolapa and Concordia (Tene,
1942).

631 At the present time Amatenango is an independent Municipio.
621 having been separated from Teopisca in 1937, while Aguacatenango
is an Agencia of the Municipio of Venustiano Carranza. Both com-
[692] munities are, however, attached to the equivalent ladino towns in
[651] similar ways because of their economic dependence, because such
disputes as are not solved within the confines of the village are
sent to the juzados of the towns, and because the offices of the
Tax Collectors and Ejidotes are situated in these ladino towns.

175 Neither of the two communities became directly involved in
669 the Indian Uprisings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,
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¹San Bartolomé de los Llanos; today known as Venustiano Carranza.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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175 called by the historians the Wars of the Castes (Pineda, 1888;
669 Molina, C., 1934; Kline, H., 1960), and both of them voted to join
621 Mexico when the State of Chiapas was contemplating annexation to
631 either Mexico or Guatemala (Trens, 1942:274).

TABLE 2

AMATENANGO AND AGUATENANGO: POLITICAL AND
ADMINISTRATIVE JURISDICTIONS

Time	Amatenango	Aguacatenango
1600 to 1778	Obispado de Ciudad Real Provincia de los Llanos	
1829	Departamento del Sur Partido de los Llanos	
1844	Distrito del Centro Partido de Las Casas o San Cristobal	
1854	Municipio de San Cristobal 9th Municipio	Distrito de Comitan 4th Municipio
1937- 1958	Municipio de Amatenango	Municipio de V. Carranza

175 In the end of the eighteenth century (1792) the Bishop
177 Francisco Gabriel de Olivares y Benito tried to specialize
286 Amatenango, Teopisca and Aguacatenango as small textile centers
(cotton) by giving the weaving materials to widows and young female
children to process and sell. A school for the training of weavers
[179] was established in the same year, but the project ended unsucces-
fully in the beginning of the nineteenth century (Trens, 1942:
175-6).